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The Origin Theories of Punjabi Language:

A Context of Historiography of Punjabi Language

SIKANDER SINGH

New generations of East and West Punjab, are educated in either Indian or Pakistani education system, becoming less capable to understand vernaculars of each other. That is a result of lacking a fair language policy regarding the new creation or borrowings of required terminology. This lacking is caused to the necessity of uncontroversial and widely accepted theory regarding the origin of Punjabi language. There are some contrary, dissented and contentious origin theories available in the context which this paper examines. It critiques contradiction between Aryan and pre-Aryan origin theories of Punjabi led by non-linguistic factors i.e. political or communal ideologies. How nativeness of Punjabi was excluded from the origin context of Punjabi language and how Sanskrit and other languages were established as source of Punjabi is explored in the paper. It is analyzed that some works on history of Punjabi misdirected the future scenario which some times lead language controversies in Punjab/ India. This paper concludes to recognize a fair theory regarding the origin of Punjabi language.

"If fundamental grammatical structure remains, more or less constant, then it is less likely that one language can be born from another one. More, specifically, if speech groups of India and Europe had their own grammatical structures in place before interfacing with other dominant speech groups, like Latin or Sanskrit, then it will illogical to claim that the intruding foreign languages, even very advanced ones, gave birth X Y Z languages in India and Europe. It is much more likely, depending on the level of their development, indigenous languages may have to borrow varying number of words and terminology." -Manzur Ejaz

"Under this false impression the German scholars devoted their whole lives to the study of Indo-European languages and thus though failed miserably in establishing the superiority of the so-called Nordic Race, nonetheless due to their devotion and enthusiasm they succeeded in producing some very remarkable results in the field of linguistic research. Due to their overzealousness sometimes they and their other European counterparts reached at some quite unbalanced conclusions. The claim of the Aryan origins of the languages of northern part of the subcontinent is one of these

unfounded assertions which is still fervently supported by the Western scholars." -Ainul Haq Faridkoti

The origin and antiquity language is a question of historiography of language. Historiography of languages is an important trend in modern age. It is not just language consciousness, language consciousness is too ancient in Indian subcontinent but historiography of Indian languages begins with the works of western thinkers. They had aim to understand history and nature of cultures through the study of Indian languages. Early grammars of Indian languages were written by western priests and that were caused to language consciousness in subcontinent. Hindu upper cast was first community who actively followed modern trend in languages and began a movement of Hindi against Urdu in Bengal[1] that movement had become 'national language movement' in India.[2] Historiography of native languages in India started with Hindi movement or to respond that movement. Early period of linguistic historiography in India can be seen in the statements of academicians and politicians regarding the history of languages and scripts.

In early period about second half of nineteenth century three questions became root cause of language conflict between Hindi and Urdu. First, which is native language from both[3], second, what would be source of new borrowings in Hindustani, Arabic-Persian or Sanskrit[4] and third, which script, Arabic or Devanagri, is suitable for writing Hindustani.[5] All questions were just related to the conflict between Hindi and Urdu but had effected historiographical questions of other Indian languages too.[6] That conflict had been emerged in Bengal and after that it had spread over the subcontinent including in Punjab and that conflict was under root of partition of Punjab in 1947.

Historiography of Punjabi language systematically started after the divide of Punjab in two parts Western Punjab in Pakistan and Eastern Punjab in India in 1947 AD. Historian of Punjabi language mostly agreed of the issues of areas of Punjabi language, Punjabi dialects and subdialects, nomenclature of Punjabi, literary development and some other issues. But the issue of origin and antiquity of Punjabi language became a question between historians. Most historians found its genetical relations with Aryan tradition and their language Sanskrit but some other strongly differ them. Major research works on history of Punjabi language has been done in Eastern Punjab and a great effect of political academics of India[7] can be seen on those works. Political academics of India established a theory that Aryan, race culture and language are beginners of all Indian cultures. After colonial age Aryan had shown that they are main claimant of language, culture etc. of India. Archealogist and some scholar of language has found Punjabi culture and civilization from pre-Aryan and prehistoric ages but it has seen that major Eastern Punjabi academics has great a trend to finish it on Aryan culture.[8] Mentioned above phenomena are Gordian knots of Punjabi language.

This paper deals with the question of origin and antiquity of Punjabi language established in historiography of Punjabi.

Studies in Historiography of Punjabi language: There is just one chapter of book available about the study of historiography of Punjabi language which produce a formulation that a solid theory for the origin of Punjabi language could not be emerged because historiography of Punjabi language just dealt by individuals, it is ignored on institutional level. (Brar 2015: 50-60) This is basic and important question of historiography of Punjabi language. Histories of Punjabi language are mainly focused on the topics like- language classification, language families, origin and development of language, Indian languages, civilizations and cultures, geographical boundaries of Punjab etc. (ibid) but question of birth of Punjabi language is still in interrogative phase even there are so many formulations are available. Mostly historians of Punjabi language are literary analysts, writers and grammarians. Their approach of historiography is non-linguistic mostly. It might be happened because non-linguistic factors greatly effect development of language.[9] Histories of Punjabi language mainly discussed political and literary factor of language development. Sometimes followed by approach of religious factors, especially in the context of Sanskrit and Pali language but most historians adopted secular approach to historicize Punjabi context.

'It is true that no language survey of India is satisfied survey. The main technique of surveys is comparison of words, like one side words of Sanskrit and Prakrit and other side words modern Indian languages Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali, Gujrati, Oria or Behari and after comparison something has been written as result of study.' (Brar 2015: 72-73) This quote is a question regarding the histories of Punjabi language, but its authenticity lacked facts and evaluation. In fact evaluation of historiography of Punjabi language is on rudimentary stage.

Majority historians of East Punjab and India determined birth of Punjabi language from Apabhramsa languages[10] but they followed different Apabhramsa's for the source of Punjabi language. Pro-Aryan historians[11] of languages told that Apabhramsa's are developed from Prakrit's languages and Prakrit's are result of changes in Sanskrit. They had followed a metaphor of 'Sanskrit as mother of all Indian languages'. They had created some logics for the development of language: (i) There is ever a difference between written and spoken language, (ii) Every spoken language developed to a written language after a period and (iii) Vedic was written language and Sanskrit[12] was spoken language of Aryan era, after that Sanskrit got status of written language and Pali emerged as spoken language and so on Prakrit's, Apabhramsa's and modern NIL took birth after one by one. Punjabi is one of those NIL. One other class of language historians established the idea with references of Jain and non-Brahmin sources that Prakrit's are previous than Sanskrit. This class evidentially tried to prove that contrariwise to Sanskrit, Prakrit's and Apabhramsa's were beautiful, sweet and poetic language. (Padam, 1953: 59-62) It is also considerable that

Apabhramsa's were not later form of Prakrit's rather those were parallel languages to Prakrit and Sanskrit. Scholars do not differ between Prakrit and Apabhramsa, rather consider same. Apabhramsa was called to vernaculars of people. According to Dandi, language of shepherd which was different from Sanskrit that was called Apabhramsa. (Gune: 217) Third class of historians built a formulation that Punjabi is un-Aryan, pre-Aryan language and fourth considered this is a native language of Punjab. Third formulation is mostly ignored or rejected by historians of Eastern Punjab. Fifth class of historian understood that modern Punjabi is emerged with the language contact between native language of Punjab and Arabic-Persian after Islamic incursions. There are available some other notions about the emergence of Punjabi. Now we will discuss in detail all above establishments regarding the birth of Punjabi language.

First, we will discuss Aryan theory of origin of modern Northern Indian languages (NIL afterwards) which has been highly established and taught in Indian academics. This theory has established a formulation that Punjabi has taken its birth from Sanskrit through Prakrit's and Apabhramsa's about 9-10th century A.D. and Punjabi is language of Indo-Aryan family. Bedi (1971), Arun (1996), Harkirat Singh (1997)[13], Prem Prakash Singh (2004 and 2013) and Brar (2015) are follower historians of Aryan theory. Sekhon (1961), Padam (1953) and Duni Chander (1959) have been constructed a different track of origin of Punjabi from above historians, but they agreed with Aryan theory. Major formulations of above historians are given below:

Bedi, Kala Singh

Aryan people brought an important Aryan language. Actually, Aryan language was first Prakrit in India. Now we are called Vedic language or Vedic Sanskrit to that language to avoid confusions. (1971: introduction)

Aryans have been developed a new cultural-linguistic structure by the reshaping native earlier one with their own cultural-racial affects which is glimpsed in the form of composite civilization and in Indo-Aryan languages. (1971: 13)

There was no space for vernacular vocabulary in Sanskrit. That's why, Prakrit has become vernacular in spite of Sanskrit and Sanskrit had taken place of literary language only. Afterwards that would happen with Prakrit's also. Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit's and Apabhramsa's have positioned as literary languages and had taken difference from vernacular of spoken language. (1971: 130)

Prem Prakash Singh

Sanskrit has a relation of mother-daughter with modern Indo-Aryan languages. This relation is beautifully existed after centuries between Sanskrit and Punjabi. (2004: 51)

It is okay that Punjabi has been affected by Turki, Persian, Arabic, Dravidian languages etc. and those blurred it but those all impacts are just superficial and foreign. When we try to see its internality by removing foreign impacts, we can see many adopted/ adapted derivative vocabulary from Sanskrit sources in Punjabi… Pali, Prakrit's and Apabhramsa languages sprouted time to time from Vedic and Punjabi slowly took birth from those. Even Punjabi has been affected a lot in previous times by invader languages but ancestral relationship of Punjabi can see now too. From this point of view, I academically do arise now the issue of mother-daughter relationship between Sanskrit and Punjabi. (2004: 53)

With the evaluation of prehistorical context of Punjabi language, we can see relics of Punjabi literature in the language sphere of early Vedic era. (2013: 113)

Brar, Buta Singh

Ancestral relationship of Punjabi is connected with Sanskrit. Sanskrit is authentic form vernacular or spoken language of India. (2013: 170)

Sekhon, Sant Singh

Genealogy of modern Punjabi is linked to Sanskrit, that is to say, Punjabi is direct offspring of Vedic. (1961: 134)

Arun, Vidya Bhaskar

In fact, that is Indo-Aryan language which compositely unified differences of Indian cultures and many languages of other races. Sanskrit, with the changing process of development though Prakrit's and Apabhramsa's, is now seen in the form of Indo-Aryan languages- Punjabi, Hindi, Gujrati, Marathi, Bengali etc. (1996: 2)

All above formulations of historians depicted that Sanskrit is genetic mother of Indo-Aryan languages including Punjabi. They had been differed on ancestral Apabhramsa languages (Shoursaini, Paishachi, Kaikaee, mad, takki etc.) back to modern Punjabi but unitarily they agreed on the issue that all Apabhramsa's were derived from Sanskrit. Those formulations requires critical analysis to examine the origin source of Punjabi language. We have to critically examine the formulations as well as methods and techniques of Historians.

Major technique to find relationship between Sanskrit and Punjabi is comparison of words, sounds and some other language elements. But language is not just set of words and sounds, it has very complex structure and its development cannot find just with the comparisons of words and sounds. If historian would find word and sound similarity in two or more languages, then linguistic relationship of mother-daughter cannot be declare.[14] It can be said that Punjabi is related to Sanskrit because open categories of words like nouns, adjectives etc. are shared between Sanskrit and Punjabi but on the basis of vast data comparison Punjabi has word and sound similarities with many other languages too. Closed categories of words and grammatical elements of Punjabi are purely differed from Sanskrit.[15] Open categories of words (nouns, adjectives, and some other parts of speech) are greatly borrowed in the history of languages. It is common tendency in the condition of language contact throughout history. The notion of 'Sanskrit is mother of Punjabi' cannot establish on the basis of some comparisons of open word categories.

Second question can be raised that Sanskrit is a language of Aryan invaders, how could say that 'Sanskrit is mother of Punjabi'? Linguistically, "…the intruding language could not have totally replaced the basic structures of indigenous speech." (Ejaz 2020: 79) Pre-Aryan natives of Punjab had their own basic language structure too.[16] ,[17] ,[18] Indian historiography of language tried to prove that Sanskrit is mother of all Indian languages but how one language can be mother of all languages of the subcontinent? Here are four civilizations (Sindh, Gangas, Sino Tibtian and Dravidian) and how many cultures have each civilization? Every culture has at least one language or more than one. (Sewak Singh, 2016)

Third, nowadays linguistic diversity is lesser than ancient times. Under the process of modern national construction, linguistic diversity in India has been reduced because official language and state languages took priorities in the areas of education, media and official work etc. How one language can be mother of the languages of culturally diverse societies? But pro-Aryan historian persistently tried to glorify ancient languages as national languages and they denied the linguistic diversity of the subcontinent. Arun (1996: 1-2) asserted that linguistic diversity in India is too less than Europe and Aryan languages are too close than European languages. He stated that it was happened due to Sanskrit which has remained language of religion, literature and nation for centuries in India. Prem Prakash Singh (2004: 87) considered Pali as a language of cultural unification in first substage of medieval Prakrit language-age which has been established as lingua franca of whole nation for a time after Vedic/ classical Sanskrit. In reality, historical and cultural factors of diversity in India falsify above formulations, those are just a rhetorical statement only not factual. It will be clarified in fourth question. Study of Indo-Aryan language family in India is a way to establish Sanskrit as only ancestor of NIL. But Punjab, land of five rivers has relics of many language families too which we will see on next pages. It seems that scholars had not evaluated huge data, they choose their favoured facts only.

Fourth question, its name indicates that Sanskrit is refined language. So it would be refined from some existed language, what was that language?[19] A refined or written language cannot be a mother of vernacular or speech language. "Sanskrit was never a speech language used in Punjab or any other region in India." (Ejaz 2020: 64) It was language of writings and sacred ceremonies. Nor Sanskrit had been imposed language because it had not been remained language of state for long time. Ejaz considers that "Up until fifth century BC Punjab was still mainly an Aryan homeland and no traces of Sanskrit speech are found in this area… fundamentalist Brahman, Pushyamitra Shunga (185- 149 BCE) ruled for 36 years and may have tried to impose Sanskrit, but language does not often change in such a short period… Furthermore, by that time, Brahmans had forbidden lower castes to read or speak Sanskrit." (2020: 66) One other fact is available that "Sanskrit was never used for administrative and commercial functions. Its use for religious and intellectual discourse, was extremely partial; it remained confined to a tiny priestly class of Aryans." (Ejaz 2020: 80) Hence causes of imposition of Sanskrit does not supported in history.[20] One more Strong evidence is that Sanskrit was or is not language of agrarian society, Punjab has been agrarian land since centuries or may be from the settlement of human race. Agriculture vocabulary of Punjabi is not available in Sanskrit.[21] Words of agriculture and animal husbandry in Punjabi are related to Santhali and other Munda and Dravidian languages. (Ejaz 2020: 103-107; Ejaz 2019: full)

There are so many questions on Sanskrit origin theory as well as number of works on pre-Aryan languages and cultures are available but centre point of research on the origins of NIL ever made Sanskrit by pro-Aryan scholars. Sanskrit is language of Vedas which are revealed or recited in Punjab. It is sacred, very ancient and may be scientific language which has a wonderful Structure. It may be more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than as Sir William Jones said in 1876. Top achievements of Sanskrit scholars in the field of linguistics and grammar are incomparable in the world. Sanskrit texts are milestone in the fields of philosophy, linguistics, narration, literary theory etc. It is also true that Sanskrit has been scholarly established language since centuries. Above all and many other factors glorify richness of Sanskrit but those all could not enough to prove Sanskrit as ancestral mother of Punjabi as well as other NIL.

Historians of Punjabi language found birth of Punjabi from Apabhramsa which have taken birth centuries after Sanskrit. Pali and other Prakrit languages were emerged and ended between the time of Sanskrit and Apabhramsa. This logic of language development is not favoured of 'Sanskrit as mother of Punjabi' theory; it is favour in 'Apabhramsa as mother of Punjabi'! Almost scholars understood and stated Apabhramsa as immediate later languages before NIL but metaphorically historians repeatedly mentioned Sanskrit as mother of Punjabi.

As afore discussed, pro-Aryan historians established that Apabhramsa's are derived from Sanskrit through Prakrit but there is another school which is purely differed to this notion. This school is contrary to pro-Aryan theory and built a logic that Prakrit were previous than Sanskrit. Those were natural languages of the land which people were spoken. Sewak Singh builds logic that 'Prakrit and Sanskrit are traditionally and culturally different. Vernaculars of Indian subcontinent are from Prakrit traditions and their relationship to Sanskrit is not more than linguistic borrowings.' (2016) It could be just a relationship of language contact or conflict between Prakrit and Sanskrit in long time of centuries. Prakrit and Sanskrit are opposite from name. (Sewak Singh, 2016) It can be understood with quote from introduction of 'Payio Sadd Maharnvo' cited by Padam (1953: 92) that 'this is to take in mind that no Prakrit has derived from Sanskrit. Vedic or Sanskrit is not origin source of Shoursaini Prakrit. Even Shoursaini and Sanskrit both were originated from the Prakrit of Shoorsain (Mathura) and central province that was spoken in Vedic period.' It is established thought that Hindi is emerged from Shoursaini Apabhramsa about 9-10th century. Hence, Sanskrit is not source of Hindi too. From this point of view Sanskrit is based on Prakrit not Prakrit based on Sanskrit. Some questions were raised by scholars on above viewpoint. 'They argued that why Panini, Katayan and Patanjali had not enlightened about previous languages and why the grammar of Prakrit had not been written. Why lexicographic work had not been done on Prakrit like Sanskrit lexicography of nighantu and nirukat. When Prakrit are diverse according to area/ land, but Sanskrit rules are equal everywhere then Sanskrit had been derived from what Prakrit.' (Narendarnath 1977: 7-8) Any grammar or lexicographic work had not been done on Prakrits is not valid objection because even nowadays there are some language which are not cited by scholars; Panini et. al. were grammarians of Sanskrit, a purified sacred language gods, why they needed to cite impure language of lower people! Last question seems valid, there is required some research on the base Prakrit of Sanskrit. Padam (1953: 55) stated with the reference of S. K. Chatterjee that Sanskrit was refined and derived from dialects (Prakrit) of Punjab. Padam quoted Mahavir Prasad to support his theory. Prasad stated that 'pure and beautiful Sanskrit would be refined from old Prakrit' and Padam said that Prakrit was vernacular of Punjab. This school established a view that Prakrit previous than Sanskrit. They claimed that Sanskrit was a purified language of closed social group of purist people. Their language was established in literary and other important fields.

Historians established that recent ancestor of Indian languages are Apabhramsa. This factor is contrary to the theory of 'Sanskrit is mother of Indian languages'. Apabhramsa are aligned with Prakrit traditions not classical traditions of Sanskrit. Which Apabhramsa is recent ancestor of Punjabi? It is a question where historians have been different positions. British surveyor of Indian languages A.G. Grierson divided Punjabi in two parts based on two ancestor Apabhramsa, Lahanda originated from Paisachi and eastern Punjabi from Shoursaini[22]. Grierson was highly

criticized to divided Punjabi language.[23] Duni Chander (1987: 22, 42) partially agreed with his reckoning and assented in the favour of Shoursaini relics in eastern Punjabi.

Second theory, Paisachi, a language of Paisachs (ghost people) is recent ancestor Punjabi and that name had given by Sanskritian to Punjab. According to Padam (1953: 98-100) 'Paisachi was an impure Prakrit by pronunciation of Aryans. Brahmin, after settled in Ganga valley, had cynically propagated their native land (mul+sthan= Multan) and called Paisach to natives of Punjab.' Padam established Paisachi as Aryan language and rejected its Unaryan origin. Prem Prakash Singh contrarily twice theorize the relationship of Punjabi and Pishachi. Once he rejected any relationship between Punjabi and Paisachi for Sanskrit and secondly, he relates Sanskrit to Paisachi. Sanskrit oriented point of view is his intentional fallacy.[24]

It is also an observation that Punjabi is originated from number of Prakrit of Punjab. The difference between Prakrits of Punjab were alike nowadays dialectics of Punjab. Padam (1953: 100) recognized that 'Shoursaini and Paisachi Prakrits were dominated in different areas of Punjab; same dominations hold Sahoursaini and Pisachi Apabhramsa in post-Prakrit era. On the basis of vernaculars of Punjab Takki and Kaikei and with language contact of Paisachi and Shoursaini, Some new language had been emerged nowadays that is called Punjabi.' Bedi (1971: 51) identified Paisachi, Bracharh, Kaikei, Takki and Abheer Apabhramsa of different areas of Punjab. Prem Prakash Singh (2013: 520-530) discussed Prakrit and Apabhramsa of Punjab in detail and he added language of Madar Desh also in those. Brar (2015: 83) endorsed discussion of Prem Prakash Singh and stated that Punjabi has emerged from minor Prakrits. Those Prakrits have been developed to Kaikei, Takki and Madar Apabhramsa of Punjab. It is seemed that vernacular Apabhramsa of Punjab have preserved linguistic diversity more than dialects of nowadays Punjabi.

Now a question has arisen, Apabhramsa of Punjab were emerged from Sanskrit as told histories of Punjabi language? It is needed to decide. Apabhramsa means languages of lower and impure people, but historian included them in continuation of Sanskrit, a refined and pure language. That conception has propagated and taught in curriculum of India. In fact, Apabhramsa were strict opponent of Sanskrit. There are so many references available in Sanskrit and Apabhramsa literature regarding the reciprocal contradiction of both languages. According to Padam (1953: 67) 'Apabhramsa had originated by revolutionary change from old language tradition, so those were become different and distant language from Sanskrit etc. Apabhramsa are easy to similarize to modern Indian languages and difficult to relate to previous languages.' In fact, if modern languages were emerged form Apabhramsa then those cannot consider in Sanskrit originated languages.

Shared language particles between Sanskrit and Punjabi may be due to cultural contact or linguistic interference. Linguistic interference and large number of borrowings from alien sources blur identification of a language. That is major source of Sanskrit oriented result fallacy in histories of Punjabi language. Alien effects on vernaculars was reduced in Apabhramsa era. Apabhramsa named Madar, Bahliik, Paisach and Abhiir are anti-Arya and anti-Sanskrit languages. Speakers of those languages were abused in Sanskrit narratives. Apabhramsa era was the time of historical conflict between Punjab and Ganga civilization.

It seems factual that vernaculars (Prakrits or Apabhramsa) have their own structure. Some scholars assumed that Sanskrit had been made with purification in vernacular structure. That is why Sanskrit is only written language of a particular class. If that is true then it will be helpful to recognize many theories of histories of Indian languages, first, as Padam understood that Sanskrit has derived from Prakrit vernaculars, second, Sanskrit was language of Brahmin scholars, third, Sanskrit was constructed or composed language of Aryan for their needs, and fourth, Prakrits and Apabhramsa of Punjab are languages of same vernacular traditions and natives of Punjab.

So, Sanskrit was language of upper castes only and different from vernacular traditions. Ostler (2011) noted that throughout history Sanskrit carried heavy theological overtones and that was purely Bipar theology (Brahmanism). Vernaculars have two forms of different ages Prakrit and Apabhramsa. Some historian assumed that Prakrit languages were highly interfered and infected by Sanskrit domination, but Apabhramsa were oriented to native vernacular traditions which were purely distinct from written traditions of Brahmins and Bodhas. Apabhramsa has generated a new written tradition which had once collided to Brahmin tradition before Islamic invasion. Sekhon (1963: 13) observed that Prakrits and Apabhramsa had been boycotted Sanskrit but Its affect has grown on modern Indian languages. These facts make clear a notion that Apabhramsa are languages of native traditions not Sanskrit or any invader tradition.

We have seen that most of the pro-Aryan historians of Punjabi language made chronic chain of Vedic-Sanskrit-Prakrits-Apbhranshas-modern Indian languages. Historical and cultural factor of Punjab are not properly supporting to that chronic series of languages. That might be happen due to Sanskrit oriented tradition which had been established before start of research on the origin of Punjabi language. It is considerable that lot of research regarding Pre-Aryan languages and cultures had been successfully already done but that was not decisively cited in historiography of Punjabi language. Even pro-Aryan historian use devotional idiom in spite of evaluative idiom for Sanskrit as well as Hindi, but it is irony they were writing history of Punjabi language not Hindi or Sanskrit. Bedi (1971: 73) eulogise Aryan language and ignore its killer dominance on Bhiil language. Prem Prakash Singh applauds Gayatri mantra in context of language (2004: 57) and declares Sanskrit as amrit kund (nector tank) for all Indian languages which relive with livelihood

borrowings from Sanskrit. He (2004: 44) declared that Sanskrit is not only important on the national level (of India) rather it is importance highlights on the international level. Arun (1996) and Prem Prakash Singh (2013) have historicized development of different Indian languages under the title of Bharti Arya Bhasha (Indo Aryan language). That conception might be emerged under the effect of Hindi movement and Arya Samaj, a Hindu association in colonial era which named Arya Bhasha to Hindi.[25]

Arya Samaj movement in Punjab was anti-Punjabi movement. Arya Samajis have tried disparaged sovereignty of Punjabi at every level. Grierson (1919: 617) wrote, "…at present day there is too great a tendency to look down upon it as a mere dialect of Hindustani (which it is not), and to deny its status of independent language." Leitner (1882: 31) expressed some evidence of anti-Punjabi sentiment of Hindu etc. in early colonial era in Punjab:

My object in referring to past and present Sikh authors is merely to show that the Gurmukhi language and literature is not the contemptible and barbarous idiom which Educational Reports and the interested statements of Hindu and Muhammadan underlings make it ought to be, but that is still living with a glorious tradition, and with the possibility of development to a still more glorious future, if it is cultivated and encouraged as the national language of the Panjab…

Above evidence cleared that most of Hindu and Muslim writers and activists tried to understate Punjabi. Arya Samajis intentionally made ill efforts to reduce Punjabi just as a dialect of Hindi. This is a problem of historiography of Punjabi language that some historians historicized Punjabi under-effect of Hindi movement. Satirical position is that they tried to establish Hindi as national language of India/ Punjab in the histories of Punjabi. Duni Chander (1959: 23) called Hindi as national language of India. Bedi (1971: 123) stated 'Eastern Punjab having capital Chandigarh is inseparable part of India. Its national language is Hindi, but speech language is Punjabi.' Prem Prakash Singh (2013: 379) presented devotion to Hindi by saying, 'Hindi is main language among modern Indo Aryan languages. It is lingua franca (national language) according to Indian constitution.' Brar (2015: 138) followed same way, 'Hindi is our national language, so it has pan-Indian prestige. According to Indian constitution Hindi has status of 'national language'. Due to national status, it has peculiar place in Indian languages… So, it can say that Hindi is link language of all Indians. Nowadays it is symbol of Indian culture.' It is ironical situation that there is no national language of India, Hindi is official language as per constitution of India[26] and English has parallel official rights.

So, approach of majority histories of Punjabi is biased to the Hindi a language adopted by Sanskritized Aryan culture. Their Sanskrit oriented results are objectionable because those are not free from Aryan intentional fallacy. Even pro-Aryan historians of Punjabi are become part of

national construction of India partially. Nationalization of language is killing process of native languages since start of national movement. Historians established Punjabi as independent language as compared to Arya Samajis to find origin of Punjabi language they are not far from Hindi-Sanskrit way of national process of India.

Teja Singh M.A. (1951) presented a different point of view for the origin of Punjabi. He directly connected Punjabi to Vedic language and considered Vedic as old form of Punjabi. He claimed that Punjabis are from Aryan race who wrote Vedas on the banks of rivers of Punjab. Vedic become modern Punjabi in the long process of linguistic changes. He described that in fact, Vedic is highly different from modern Punjabi idiom but even though it is called Punjabi like old English of Alfred is too different from modern English, but both are forms of English. He claimed that there are number of Vedic words which have been lost in Prakrit and vernaculars of later period are still available in Punjabi especially Lahandi. (23) His thesis is also based on racial factors in the favour of Aryans. He rejected Grierson's Paisachi theory for Lahanda on racial basis. He asserted that we (used first person pronoun 'we' for Punjabis) are not offspring of Paisach people they are grandchildren of Aryans. Even there had been some mixture of races but Punjabi language originated from Aryan languages. How it could happen that Aryan people had accepted language of a defeated nation- language of those who has been remembered by Arya with hatred nouns of Paisacha, Dasasyu. Paisachas were forbidden to read Vedas because Aryan were tried to avoid that Paisachas shall be polluted the language of Veda mantras. He affirmed that any relationship to those people by Aryan was impossible. (22-23)

Teja Singh is not so far from other pro-Aryan scholars. He just bypassed the chronological track of Sanskrit-Prakrit-Apabhramsa and he directly called Vedic is a form of old Punjabi. His notion is not based on solid fact other than pro-Aryan scholars rather it is rhetorical sentence. Although he understood Gangetic and Punjabis both are Aryans but he noted the hatred narrative of Gangetic towards Punjab caused the language difference. Teja Singh differently considered post-Vedic Aryan behaviour towards Punjab was full of enmity. He illustrated behaviours of Gupta kings who had destructed vernaculars by following Sanskrit and that negligence was continued up to the arrival of Musalmans. Condition of vernaculars has been improved with the arrival of Musalmans. (27) His views regarding the origin of Punjabi are not so important but his method to consider nowadays Punjabi is same language from its origin and exclusion of other language track is valuable to view the origin of Punjabi.

Origin of Punjabi is a result Islamic contact with vernaculars of Punjab at the late Apabhramsa period is another opinion. It is different and contrary to Sanskrit origin theory. Sekhon (dateless: 07) is first eastern Punjabi historian who understood that Punjabi has no direct relationship to ancient Hindu or medieval Hindu period because there had been established Islamic kingdom at

the origin times of Punjabi. Unavailability of any authentic document in Punjabi language before the Islamic invasion is a strong fact in the favour of that opinion. Bedi (1971: 53-54) also tried to find chronological sequence between Apabhramsa and modern Indian languages after Islamic invasion and after contact with Arabic-Persian. He found that native language has been slowly developed after Arabic-Persian contact and its clear modern form shined in near 1000 A.D. Bedi considered it was Persian dominated vernacular of Sufis, Darveshas, Faqirs and Piiras which have majority of Persian words. This theory is based on cultural contact.

Cultural contact theory of new language origin is also popular for the birth of Urdu also. Rahman (2014: 54) said, "The theories of Pakistani origin claim that Urdu was born in the areas now in Pakistan because of Perso-Arabicization of the languages spoken here. The pioneer of such theories was Hafiz Mahmud Shirani. In Punjab Mem Urdu (1928) the central thesis is that Urdu was created in the Punjab and the Muslims took it with them to Delhi when they spread from the Western part of India eastwards. A variant of this thesis is that it was the Multani variety of Punjabi (Siraiki as it is called now) which was the basis of Urdu." This theory is countered in the context of origin of Urdu with the argument that "Shirani ignores the differences between Dakani and Punjabi as well as other evidence which implies that Urdu has descended from Khari Boli rather than Punjabi." (Ibid) But this theory is important for the origin of Punjabi. First available text of Punjabi Bani Sheikh Farid ji is evidence in the favour of this theory. That text was written Pearsianized and Islamicized Punjabi.

Socia linguistically and on the basis of cultural contact, this theory of language origin may be impressed logical and factual but a theory based on foreign contact can give results regarding development or endangerment of a language by foreign affects only. Its history may be very detailed, and effects may be huge in quality and quantity but it cannot able to find origin of a language nor can it reach to the foundational and structural elements of language. This theory of origin of Punjabi have not descriptively discussed in histories of Punjabi language. It is some popularized theory in western Punjab for the national interests of Pakistan alike pro-Sanskrit theory for the national interests of India.

Aryan and pre-Aryan theories of culture, ethnicity and language ever playing for opposite poles in Indian academics and it have been happened in the context of birth of Punjabi language also. Pre-Aryan origin theory of Punjabi language is based on its relationship to Dravidian, Munda and Austric language families. Basically, this theory has a rationale of native vocabulary of Punjabi which is neither available in Indo Aryan languages nor in Arabic-Persian. Carey (1812: iv) Indicates regarding the pre-Aryan words of Punjabi in first grammar of Punjabi language. Grierson (1919: 617) found some original and most common words of Punjabi & languages of the outer circle other than Hindustani and he learnt about the earlier culture of Punjab than Hindu Brahmin

of Madhyadesh. Bedi (1971: 15-16) stated about the settlement of Ethiopian, Negro and Austric races here whose relics are available in lower castes. Bedi recorded 'There are some Punjabi words still using in the villages whose no root found in Hindi or in other modern Aryan languages. Those words have certainly come from languages of Pre-Aryan natives of Punjab. If those were result of chronological process of Sanskrit to Prakrit, Prakrit to Apabhramsa and Apabhramsa to Punjabi then those words would be definitely available in Urdu or Hindi or other modern Aryan languages with some sound changes.' (1971: 28) Even almost scholars and historians agreed for its pre-Aryan vocabulary which is etymologically not found in Indo Aryan languages. (Padam, 1953: 174; Duni Chander, 1959: 11; Prem Prakash Singh, 2013: 96-97) But historians reject pre-Aryan antiquity of those words with argument that those words were only result of pre-Aryan impact on Aryan language. According to Brar (2015: 136) Dravidian words in Sanskrit are just result of Dravidization of Arya. Indian historians of language consider above facts as result of linguistic borrowing from pre-Aryan to Aryan rather than antiquity of Punjabi up to Pre-Aryan age.

Historical evidence are not supporting the above argument of Indian historians. Fertile land of Punjab was covered with native language/ vernaculars before Aryan invasion, after incursion the language of invaders might be contacted some areas of native language. Language contact can produce a new pidgin or creole. But in the process of pidginization and creolization structure of new language would remain vernacular. Invader language performed as impactor language. It is factual in historical linguistics and sociolinguistics that language structure never is a result of impacts. Close category of parts of speech certified some unborrowable elements of language.

There is now a problem to decide base or impact language of Punjabi; either it was Sanskrit or any pre-Aryan native language. Under the light of above linguistic rule structure of Punjabi would be certainly Pre-Aryan native language not invader language Sanskrit. It can further explore with sufficient evidence of Pre-Aryan languages but Pre-Aryan languages have not been researched properly after the partition of Punjab. Sekhon (dateless: 4) bothered that hurdle, 'It is problematic that such research has not been done regarding the origin and nature of those civilized (Dravidian) languages which has done for Aryan language. That research will not be only valuable for our linguistics; probably, it may change our viewpoints about the other native languages.' One side this lack of research leads uncertainty regarding the pre-Aryan antiquity of Punjabi language and other side pro-Aryan historians of Punjabi language intentionally ignored pre-Aryan facts too. Hence, the majority Indian historian of Punjabi language has intentionally or unintentionally presented Sanskrit oriented results.

Linguists of West Punjab highly differed to Indian theory of origin of Punjabi language. Ainul Haq Faridkoti, one of them, crossed Aryan boundaries and presents a theory that Punjabi is pre-Aryan language. He was a historian who tried to find genealogy of Urdu and other Pakistani languages.

He claimed that Urdu is a descendant of the ancient language of the Indus valley and that its immediate ancestor is Punjabi. (Rahman 2014: 54) To find the genealogy of Urdu, he had to search the origin of Punjabi. His theory regarding the birth of Urdu might be questionable with same argument as theory of Shirani is questioned. But his research regarding the Punjabi cannot be ignored, it is considerable. From the Aryan point of view Prem Praksh Singh had rejected his thesis about the antiquity of Punjabi. To understand studies regarding the birth of Punjabi language, pre-Aryan thesis of Faridkoti and anti-thesis by Prem Prakash Singh both needs to consider in detail.

Faridkoti, in his monograph (1992)[27] strongly rejected Sanskrit origin theory and he was on the pre-Aryan track of origins of NIL. He named Pakistani languages as the guardian of the Harrapan heritage. He had taken the Punjabi language as the main representative of the northern group of the languages for the reason that it has a long, unbroken and chequered history to its credit. (1992: 16-17) Notion of Aryan origins of NIL was national motto of the west. Thence Aryan theory was strongly supported by western linguists. (1992: 9-10)

Faridkoti claimed pre-Aryan words in Punjabi are native words of Punjabi and grammar of Sindhi, Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu has nearly relationship to Dravidian and Munda languages. He raised a question on western linguists for intentionally defined Aryan language as a source for Indo-Pak languages to make superior the Aryan race and deliberately barred the non-Aryan local elements from their discussion.[28]

He observed that there was a huge cultural and linguistic contact took place after Aryan invasion and two parallel languages Sanskrit and Prakrits evolved. The former was based upon the linguistic structure of the newcomer Aryans but heavily infused with the local elements. The Prakrit on the other hand was based upon the structure of the pre-Aryan languages particularly the Dravidian with borrowings from the Aryan speech. Present day languages of the northern subcontinent are the continuation of the early spoken Prakrits and are not originated directly or indirectly from the Sanskrit as is generally presumed. (1992: 21-22) He traced relics of northern languages in Mon-khmer group. He asserted that Munda people's superstitions, rituals, ceremonies, and festivals along with their linguistic elements still exist among the people of Pakistan especially in Punjab.[29] Even words like pani, chaul, tambula; names of ornaments gehna, nath, mundran, mundri, tokan, amgi, and names of dresses langota, langoti, lehnga, lungi, chira, chida are shared in Munda and Punjabi. (1992: 31-36) Faridkoti successfully found grammatical forms, phonetic structure and words of Dravidian languages in Punjabi. Grammatical case system[30] and tense marker particles of Punjabi and other northern languages are similarly used in Munda and Dravidian languages but other side no such grammatical rule and particle exists in Sanskrit. (1992: 40-59) He claimed, "The Northern group of Languages have retained their original and pre-Aryan form throughout

their long catastrophic history." (1992: 40) Finally he established a thesis that Punjabi is not an Aryan language, it was spoken in the land before Aryan invasions.

Prem Prakash Singh questioned Faridkoti's theory of pre-Aryan origins of NIL. With following disagreements, he tried to prove that the formulations of Faridkoti are just speculations not evidence-based research:

1. … Important and fundamental question is that Mr. Ainul Haq wished to construct what un-linguistic theory by challenging to international linguistic community, neither he had provided any approved model or approach in linguistic world nor he followed any theoretical pattern to establish his theory of language origins.

2. … Writer (Faridkoti) had not quoted or referred any single established scholar authority for the justification of claimed formulas which would recognize his theory.

3. What was the formation and structure of that uttermost primitive (ਘੋਰ ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ) proto-Dravidian original language, writer could not provide some information for that language. What was the language of Harappa culture, it is still uncertain. … Construction of theory on purely noughtness is not linguistic work.

4. Writer forgot that Dravidian languages are agglutinating type while Indo-Pak modern languages are analytic.

5. He had presented inefficient elements of language like suffixes, case-ending, auxiliary, post positions etc. for the comparison between Dravidian languages modern Tamil, Telgu etc. and Indo-Pak languages. But those all are minor, unnecessary, un foundational and peripheral elements of a language. Those are called non-lexical items because those are just indicator of syntactic relationship. Only lexical items of languages are considered as important elements to identify and establish genetic relationship which are foundational elements for language studies.

6. One question out of language context is remaining that are the Indo-Pak Punjabi people offspring of Dravids. Does any Indian or Pak Punjabi inhabitant ready to believe that he is offspring of Dravids? Ethnologist scholars have been considering Northern Indo-Pak and South India is country of two races… (2004: 2017-220)

Prem Prakash Singh purely rejected Faridkoti's thesis of pre-Aryan origins of NIL. He created an anti-thesis with the objections of ignoring linguistic theory by Faridkoti, did not refer recognized scholar, construct formulations on noughtness, did not understand difference between

agglutinating and analytic languages, did prefer grammatical elements than lexical items and relate Punjabi race to Dravidians.

In its earlier period every formulation emerges from any beginning point which becomes reference for further studies. Thence it is not inevitable that every formulation must need to construct through established patterns. A formulation must be logical. Faridkoti is primary scholar who broke Aryan thesis regarding the origins of NIL. Before his thesis pre-Aryan elements in NIL just considered as Pre-Aryan impacts on Aryan languages. He logically presented his thesis with sufficient evidence and by relevant comparison between NIL and Pre-Aryan language elements. There could not be a single international theory sufficient to find origins of all languages of the world. There is not enough research had been done to recognize Pre-Aryan languages of the Punjab and Northern Indian region. Secondly, to present a primary thesis in the unresearched area, quotes of established authority does not stand necessary at all. It can be present as a hypothesis as Sir William Jones presented in 1786 in Asiatic Society Bengal. Sir William Jones had not quoted any linguistic scholar, nor did he follow any philological pattern in his address which is a base of Aryan theory of language.[31] Faridkoti used comparative method to support his thesis. Comparative linguistic is an established discipline in linguistic and it was vastly used by Indian and foreign linguists. He was in the search of origins of antiquity of NIL as pro Aryan historians of language searched for. But a difference between them is pro-Aryan linguists stop their research on Vedic language and Faridkoti crossed that barrier by searching Munda and Dravidian elements.

Third, it is not compulsory that the origin of a language can only find with the references of written text only. In the incursions and massacres, the conquerors destroy the scripts of defeated cultures. Prem Prakash Singh (2004: 10) himself was awarded for that and noted the burning of Persepolis by Alexander where lot of Persian literature including Awesta burned and he noted also Arab invasion on Persia by Khalifa Al Mutawakel when his Islamic military forces destroyed writings of non-Muslims. Thence the uttermost primitive pre-Aryan language particles can be finding in oral traditions and vernaculars as Faridkoti found. It is also considerable that languages of writings only like Sanskrit are dies after some time. A group of linguists called Sanskrit, a dead, a dissociated language. But pre-Aryan languages are alive in oral traditions of Punjab. Oral data of language is not lesser important than written in the context of origin of Punjabi. Harrapan culture can be researched with the help of oral traditions of Northern India though the Harrapan script has not deciphered. Another way to comparison is that Munda and Dravidian languages are alive nowadays, those are comparable also.

It is also an objection that NIL is analytic but Farikoti tagged those to agglutinating Dravidian languages. But it is recognized that Punjabi is most agglutinative language among NIL. Most of the verb-forms of Gurbani are agglutinating which are formed with suffixes. (Harkirat Singh 1997:

191-241) Even till now, grammatical relations of different cases in Punjabi are presented with suffixes in the end of nouns and pronouns. It means Punjabi is still agglutinating language. (Puar et.al. 1997: 67-70) There is enough evidence available in Gurbani and nowadays vernaculars for agglutinating particles of Punjabi. Even, Prem Prakash Singh (2004: 407, 435-444) himself had known about the agglutinating evidence of Punjabi in nowadays vernaculars and Grubani. Prem Prakash Singh objected that Faridkoti compared grammatical items than lexical. It is necessary to understand that lexical items are open category and borrowable in language contact, but grammatical items are under closed category which are not borrow or least borrow in language contacts. Hence, antique items of a language are grammatical elements. If Punjabi suffixes, case system, auxiliaries and post positions are shared to Pre-Aryan languages thence under the light of modern linguistics, Punjabi is a Pre-Aryan language.

Prem Prakash Singh wrote so many books on languages studies and linguistics. He is former professor and first HOD of Punjabi, Punjabi University, Patiala. His works of are most selling and reading items of the subject in Punjabi academics but his last comment on Faridkoti's work was a racial comment, it should not part of a language work. Without any archaeological note, reference or explanation he authoritatively declared that no Punjabi people of both Punjab's (East and West) is interested to be connect him with Dravid's. He objected Faridkoti not to follow the linguistics theory and patterns, but it is ironical that his anti-thesis also is not supported by linguistics theory. We came to conclusion that research of Prem Prakash Singh is hold subjectivity to Indian nation. It is not a fair research; it has some elements of racial academics. It seems that Prem Prakash Singh had not tried to find Faridkoti's thesis just as hypothesis, nor had he made any attempt to evaluate his thesis with other works. But other side it is need to recognize that Faridkoti opened a way to Pre-Aryan languages as the source of NIL. It is an achievement of his research. Pre-Aryan sources needs to find and quote for the future of Punjabi.

Study of pre-Aryan sources might be important in the antiquark context of Punjabi language. We can understand pre-Aryan origin or antiquity of Punjabi as well as Indian languages with further details out of the histories of Punjabi language. Kuiper (1948: 28-143) inquired Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit with explanation of enormous references. Most of those words are nowadays used in Punjabi as well as in Sikh religious sphere. Some of those words are kajjala (collyrium/ ਕਜਲਾ), kantha (throat/ ਕੰਠ), kanaka (gold/ ਕਨਕ), kasmala (dirty/ ਘਸਮੈਲਾ), kuntha (blunt/ ਕੁੰਠਾ/ਖੁੰਢਾ), kubja (hump-backed/ ਕੁਬਜਾ/ ਕੁੱਬਾ), kokila (lighted coal/ ਕੋਲਾ), khadga (sword/ ਖੜਗ), ghata (jar, ਘਟ-ਘੜਾ), cipita (flat, ਚਪਟਾ), jāla (net/ ਜਾਲ), dāla (branch/ ਡਾਲ), tāmbūla (betel/ ਤੰਬੋਲਾ), däṇḍä (stick ਡੰਡਾ), paṅgu (lame/ ਪੰਗੂ/ ਪਿੰਗਲਾ), patäṁga (grasshopper/

ਪਤੰਗਾ), budbuda (a bubble- in water/ ਬੁਦਬੁਦਾ), laṅga (lime/ ਲੰਙਾ), lampaṭa (covetous/ ਲੰਪਟ), lalati (dallies, ਲਲਾਟੀ-ਲਾਡ), S'ärkarã, (gravel, ਸ਼ੱਕਰ) śṛṅkhlä (chain/ਸ਼੍ਰਿੰਖਲਾ), śṛńgära (fine dress/ ਸ਼ਿੰਗਾਰ), hala (plough/ ਹਲ) etc. These are words of pre-Dravidian culture. Kuiper (1948: 8 intro.) summarized that "a very considerable amount (say some 40 %) of NIA (New Indo-Aryan languages) vocabulary is borrowed from Munda, either via Sanskrit (and Prakrit), or via Prakrit alone, or directly from Munda." Kuiper also considered; it was borrowed vocabulary but the changes proposed alternative routes than Sanskrit only. It indicates that NIL independently linked with Pre-Aryan languages not through Sanskrit only. Kuiper noted one important issue that "…the development of Munda has been slower than that of Indo-Aryan, the aspect of many modern Munda words does not apparently differ much from their Proto-Munda original." (Ibid) It means presence of Munda words in the language of common Punjabi natives (especially villagers) nowadays indicates its Pre-Aryan traditions. Punjabi people have been contacted number of outer cultures including Aryans but after Aryan they had not been contacted to Munda culture, hence Munda words are more original and elder than Sanskrit in Punjabi. Kuiper also claimed that "It should be noted that Dardic and Kashmiri preserves several interesting Munda relics which are not known from other NIA languages…. (Ibid: 143)

Abdul Jamil Khan (2006) had worked to find artificial dichotomy of Urdu and Hindi. Keeping in the mind that Punjabi is elder language than Urdu/Hindi (as Faridkoti claimed), Khan's work may be helpful to search Pre-Aryan antiquity of Punjabi. There is lot of linguistic elements, which he found, are shared with Punjabi. He found words like Mor/mayura for peacock, hathi/ hasti for elephant, sukara/ suvar for pig, kuto/ kutta for dog, cirya for bird, niyor/ naryal for coconut, kapas for cotton, dhania for coriander, roti for bread, chutney for sauce, dahi for yogurt, banh for arm, munh for mouth, khopri for snull, pet fro stomach, Apa/ bap for father, kaki/ masi for aunt, kura/ kuri for girl, ghar for house, gadda for cushion, sirhi for ladder, tokri for basket, koyla for coal, taka for rupee, talwar for sword, dar for fear, gap for gossip, chutti for holiday, bas for enough, jagha for place etc. He claimed that all those words are from Austro-Asiatic origins. (2006: 91-92) Those are names of animals, fruits and vegetables, edibles, body parts, relationship, and names of household things. It means that total livelihood of NIL uses words shared to Austro-Asiatic languages. Even he gave examples of Pre-Aryan words for general adjectives and adverbs like thik for correct, halka for light etc. He claimed that kahana (to say), cabana (to eat), tairna (to swim), jorna (to add), bhejna (to rend), chuna (touch) and many other verbs are from Munda origins. (2006: 92-94) According to Khan Hanuman, puja, mandir, Brahmin and many more words of Hindu religious traditions are from Dravidian sources. (2006: 97) He also gave detailed examples of grammatical relationship of Urdu to Austro-Asiatic Pre-Aryan languages. He backed Indian languages to 12000 years earlier. (2006: 54-56) pro-Aryan historians of Punjabi have given

different reasons to backing languages, Bedi (1964: 27) wrote, "Approximately in 1500 BC Aryans entered in India. They brought their old Aryan language with themselves." Prem Prakash Singh (2013: 84) Indianize Aryans, "traditional view of Indian scholars is cantered on issue that India is native country of Aryans." But with the 120 centuries backed to NIL, the pro-Sanskrit and pro-Aryan notions regarding the birth of Indian languages become irrelevant.

Punjabi is language of Harappa culture, or it is old to Harappa civilization is another strong view about the antiquity of Punjabi language. It was established with the reference of Harappa excavations of highly developed civilization of Punjab. Faridkoti referred John Marshel, a scholar of Harappa excavations, who wrote there was excavated two-wheeler toy vehicles which are oldest model of vehicle in the world. The production, storage, trade, art, and technique etc. as well as intellectual development were excellent in era of Harappa civilization. (1978: 159-160) Thence, it not tough to assumes that the people of Harappa had a developed language and writing system. Hypothetically, it is a question that what the relationship between Harappa language and Punjabi is. Some scholars including Faridkoti, Ejaz (Ejaz 2020: 93) considered that Harappans were Dravidian speaking people and Aryans pushed them to South India. Based on the domesticated use of animals in agriculture in Harappa, Ejaz inferred that the Harappan language-whatever its name was commonly used by Punjabi and Santhali people. (2020: 103)

Jaspal Singh Mayel (2017) claimed Punjabi is old to Harappa civilization and Harappan people was speaking Punjabi or closely related to it. He asserted that it must be some form of Punjabi as almost all the people in Punjab of 7 rivers speaks Punjabi now. (12) He has given eleven reasons (33-45) for Punjabi language is 5500 years old, summarized form of those is given below:

1. There is no indigenous local language other than Punjabi in Punjab. All other languages like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic came much later from foreign countries. (13)

2. Harappa and today Punjab has same civilization. The skeletons found at Harappa sites those date is back to 5,500 years show the same basic racial types as are found today in Punjab. This indicates about same ethnicity of Harappan and nowadays Punjabi peoples.

3. Harappan symbol has been translated into Punjabi. Mayel deciphered some Harappan seals.

4. Multan, 24 miles far next door to Harappa is Punjabi speaking city since centuries. Both cities were cultural and trade hubs in central Asia, south Asia, and Persia.

5. Punjabi traditions, customs and culture are originated from Harappa, Multan and surrounding areas and survived during centuries of invasions.

6. Nobody has definite proof when and how Punjabi language was started and developed to be spoken by 150 million people today. Harappa people were speaking some language and logically they must be speaking Punjabi or very close to it as of 5,500 years ago.

7. Production techniques in Harappa & today's Punjab are similar. Prof. Kenoyer of HARP[32] has noticed that many of the same firing techniques and production procedures are used in today in India and Pakistan as they were thousands of years ago. This makes clear that there is a continuity in culture and techniques that is unchanged for thousand years. This leads continuity of speech also.

8. There was no Aryan influence in Harappa as Prof. Dales of HARP stated, so there was no outside language came during Harappa era.

9. Prof. Valentine examined enamel teeth of Harappan people. He came to result that people of Harappa were same origin and no invader came in Harappa, and no one has been able to eliminate Punjabi language.

10. Skeletons of Harappa and present Punjabi people are similar then they must be speaking similar type of language that is Punjabi in one form or another.

11. It appears that the Indus rulers governed their cities through the control of trade and religion. During Harappa era people were peace loving with no army, no ruler, and no gigantic buildings. They were in business and very advanced in technology. Thus, it can be logically and reasonably believed that people of Harappa of Punjab must be speaking Punjabi language or closed allied to it.

Some reasons given by Mayel are highly considerable. His main claim is that ordinary people of Punjab, nowadays and Harappa times have a shared language. That was Punjabi. He also tried to prove that ordinary people during King Puru's period was speaking Punjabi or any of its dialect. Languages of the religions and kingdoms like Pali, Sanskrit, Agamas, and Greek never spoken by the ordinary people of Punjab. Mayel backed Punjabi to Harappa age with the continuity of speech of ordinary people. He deciphered some Harappa writings with the help of ordinary culture and traditions of Punjab.[33] The logic of the continuity of ordinary culture, productions traditions and language constructs a different valuable theory regarding the origin of Punjabi language.

The sufficient answer to the question of Harappa-Punjabi relationship is not possible without deciphering of Indus Valley script. There were many teams of scholars has been trying to decipher the script since its excavation and some teams also made some formulations. Some writing patterns and grammatical patterns[34] are observed by scholars. But endeavours of Mayel to decipher Harappa script are important because he is a Punjabi. Without data of Punjabi language and traditions it could not be possible to decipher Harappan script because barriers of sound pattern and geographical, cultural relics cannot be crossed without the sufficient knowledge of Punjabi language and traditions. Ejaz (2020: 110) stated that "Harappa Valley script would be easier to decipher if a consolidated data set of Punjabi, Santhali, Munda, Khasi and Roma vocabulary are established and explored. In our view, Dravidian and Indo-European language will never give any clue to the Harappan script because of absence of a basic shared vocabulary." Sanskrit is not appropriate to decipher Harappa script.[35] Recognition of sound patterns of Harappa language must be explored to find its relationship to other languages. Only semantic interpretations cannot be able to recognize linguistic relationships.

Scholars who tried to relate antiquity of Punjabi language to Harappa have crossed Sanskrit barrier of Indo-Aryan. Although, they had not got fully success in finding grammatical and phonetic reasons, but they had initiated to research in this field. Expert of Harappa script stated that Harappan was suffix oriented script.[36] Punjabi is also primarily suffix oriented language. But scholars became successful in the finding of cultural, geographical, and traditional continuity between Punjabi and Harappa language.

Regarding the birth of Punjabi language another theory is presented by Najar Singh (2018). He rejected almost all the existed Aryan theories and most of pre-Aryan theories of origins of Punjabi language. He negated relationship of Punjabi to those languages which are considered earlier than Punjabi. He claimed in introduction (2018: iv) of his book, "Punjabi grammar indicates that this is neither Sematic, Aryan, Turkish or Tatar, Dravid, Munda, Turani, Astroloid, Mangoloid and Negro and nor it is related to Sanskrit, Prakrits and Pali and neither those were languages of Punjabi ancestors." He analysed most of existed theories regarding the origin of Punjabi language. His method of analysis is comparison of grammar, phonology and historic and pre-historic cultural-political context of different languages which are considered as pre-Punjabi languages. He (2018: 52-53) strongly affirmed that grammatical patterns of Punjabi are not analogously matched to Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa which were mentioned by Hemchandra. He has an argument that Dravidian, Sanskrit, Pali and different Prakrits and Apabhramsa have single gendered verb and Punjabi verb is double gendered. It is major finding of Najar Singh and he proved his theory with comparative examples. (2018: 10-12, 51, 60-61, 79-80) He strongly argued that Sanskrit, Pali, Greek, and Persian etc. all those languages were invader languages which affected originality of Punjabi as well as other vernaculars of the sub-continent with linguistic infiltration and

interference.[37] Every kingdom suppressed Punjabi through their religion and divided Punjabi natives. They all treated like invaders to language and script of Punjab as Aryans, Muslims and British did. (2018: 22, 56) An invader or state language can affect or replace a language. Complete replacement of language of hamlets and countryside was not possible in past times, especially in Punjab. Rather state or invader languages like Sanskrit, Pali, Persian and English were immediately lacked their impact after passed kingdom patronage.

Phonologically, Najar Singh claimed as many other scholars also mentioned that Indo-Aryan borrowed 't' category phones from Punjabis with argument that Sanskrit holds approximately 12 roots of 't' category of phones rather Punjabi holds more than 100 roots. Those phones also were not available in old Persian which shared most of linguistic elements with Sanskrit. (2018: 07) He rejected all outer language origin theories regarding the birth of Punjabi. It is language of Indus Valley people. (2018: 80) He asserted that racial relationship of Punjabi is related to Shudra tribe of Punjab which was defeated by Aryans. (2018: 22) He argued that Punjabi is a natural language, the way other ancient language originated, that way Punjabi took birth. (2018: 20) It is not a result of development of any other language.

His argument of natural birth of Punjabi language is valuable from many aspects. First, how human race, civilization and cultural development of Punjab did take place, that way the language of land emerged slowly and naturally with physical and socio-cultural development of Punjab. Second, this argument keep distance from outer impact theory of language origin or origin of language is result of development and time to time changes in any other old language. Third, if it would consider that Punjabi is developed language from earlier vernaculars (even Apabhramsa, as scholar established a view) then it must be admitted that earlier language would be diverse like dialects and sociolects of Punjabi. This natural theory of language origin is acceptable for the natural development of each dialect and sociolect etc. This is more genuine theory than single mother language like Sanskrit or any other Apabhramsa etc. Contradiction of Pre-Aryan and Aryan theory can be ended with the endorsement of natural origin theory of Punjabi as well as other languages. This theory can strongly endorse with the linguistic and socio-cultural archaeology of Punjab. As Faridkoti (1978: 152-160) had referred civilization of Punjab up to Miocene age 15 million years back. He tried to prove that Punjab was natural house of early human. Faridkoti was in the search of historical background of Punjabi language, and he assumed that Punjabi is native language of early inhabitants of Punjab.

At the end of study, it is to recognize that origin theories of Punjabi have been emerged under four schools i.e. Aryan, language contact after Islamic incursion, Pre-Aryan and natural origin on the land with human race and culture. Pro-Aryan theory is divided in three directions, first believed, Punjabi developed form Vedic Sanskrit through Prakrits and Apabhramsa, second, Prakrits and

Apabhramsa are earlier than Vedic Sanskrit i.e. Vedic is derived from a Prakrit of Punjab, and third, Vedic Sanskrit is an old form of Punjabi. Pro-Aryan is highly established school in India as well as world academics which built theory of 'Sanskrit as mother of NIL'. Linguistic and cultural factors does not support this theory in context of Punjabi language. Second school, considers Punjabi is emerged with the language contact after Islamic incursions, is evolved in West Punjab but some views of Eastern Punjabi scholars support this. Linguistically and culturally, it is clear that Punjabi is not the resultant language from contact, rather a borrowed language with elements abundantly available in Punjabi. This theory took birth to differentiate Urdu from the historical effects of Hindi. Third Pre-Aryan school strongly rejected pro-Aryan thesis of origins of Punjabi and other NIL with the logic that Aryan theory was a collaborative thesis of Western and Aryan scholars for their mutual political interests. Pre-Aryan theory has Austro-Asiatic, Munda, Dravidian and Harappan shades of Pre-Aryanism. Researcher of this school took data from Pre-Aryan languages as well as nowadays speech of Punjabi. Their comparison of speech data i.e. vocabulary and grammatical particles is scientific. Pro-Pre-Aryan linguists has a strong reason that core language structure of Punjabi is ancient than Aryan language. Harappan concerns to Punjabi language and culture are most important as Mayel tried to describe but ultimately it is subject to decipher the Harappan script. Forth, natural origin theory of Punjabi language, a striking theory to previous schools is on its rudimentary stage but linguistic possibilities of its accuracy are higher than all other theories. It has logically put by Najar Singh but there are required more reference to establish this theory. This is natural, non-political, and purely Punjabi favour theory rather other three theories oriented to some interests other than Punjab. This theory is capable to stop a major trend of finding antiquity of Punjabi in other languages which are considered pre-Punjabi languages. The entire pro-Aryan scholars have oriented to Sanskrit directly or via Prakrit-Apabhramsa track. Pre-Aryan linguists like Faridkoti and Ejaz are also tried to find origins of Punjabi from Munda and Dravidian languages etc. It is highlighted from analysis that nativeness of Punjabi language was ignored by most scholars.

Works on the origins of Punjabi language are mostly based on written data, especially data of languages other than Punjabi like Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrits and Apabhramsa etc. This tendency is found mostly in the works of pro-Indian or pro-Aryan scholars. Speech data mostly ignored with the logic that speech of ancient languages is not possible today, only written data is available. Major cause to Sanskrit oriented results is data collection from only written sources. Some of Indian scholar Padam, Sekhon, Arun (1996: 7) felt lack of speech data of Prakrits, Apabhramsa and Dravidian languages. Scholars of West Punjab strongly rejected formulations constructed on the basis of written data. Pro-Pre-Aryan scholars collected data from vernacular speech as well as written sources. Speech data of native hamlet speech is more important because they have preserved ancient cultural and linguistic elements since ancient generations. It is necessary to explore nativeness of Punjab.

Comparison between language elements is major technique used to search the origin of Punjabi language. One interesting thing is that during phonological, morphological comparison pro-Aryan or Indian scholar by default considers Sanskrit as primary language. Even hypothetically, they never assume Punjabi as native and primitive language of the land. During the etymological search of words most of the pro-Aryan and pro-Pre-Aryan scholars understand Punjabi word is derived from other Aryan or Pre-Aryan sources. This tendency is caused to ignore nativeness of Punjabi language and culture.

One recognizable aspect is that most of the works are either Sanskrit oriented or anti-Sanskrit. Indian Punjabi scholars were under the influence of works on the origins of Hindi language by Pro-Aryan scholars. Some other works are done by anti-Aryan scholars to free Punjabi from Aryanism but their interests were oriented to establish Urdu. Most of the works on the origins of Punjabi language, intentionally or unintentionally has been done under the influence of a nation, national language of either India or Pakistan. Before partition those have been affected by Hindu and Muslim schematism and after partition by language policies of India and Pakistan. Due to some communal or national intentions, facts were maltreated and misinterpreted many times in the works of language histories. Metaphor of mother-daughter-sister created academic environment in the favour of Sanskrit. That metaphor faultlessly cited in the Hindu and India favoured research works without any hesitancy. That metaphor created an unresolvable tension between societies of Punjab, even nowadays, this is still a problematic in lingua-political sphere. Other side Islamic and Pakistani scholars historicized Punjabi for the interests of Urdu establishment. Those were major cause for not deciding a final formulation about the origin of Punjabi language and other NIL.

So important thing is, the concept of linguistic imperialism should be taken in mind before the study of origins of Punjabi language because both nations are on the way to linguistic imperialism either through Sanskritization or Arabic-Persianization of Punjabi language. Almost pro-Indian scholar cited descriptions of language families. Resultantly this way of language origins glorifies Sanskrit Unitarianism. Theory of language families and tendency of linguistic Unitarianism (either Hindi or Urdu) is a major problem of research on the origins of Punjabi.

Notes:

[1] As the last decades of the nineteenth century passed by, the position of Hindi stood in stark contrast to that of Urdu, and increasingly the two languages began to perceive each other as rivals in the arena in which political and communal issues were growing inexorably in importance (Shackle 1990: 10)

[2] The history of Hindi scholars and teachers as portrayed in textbooks closely followed the history of the Aryan-Hindu community in M. Gupta's poem Bhārat-bhārtī: poetry and scholarship supported each other. Accordingly, Hindi, the direct descendant of Sanskrit, had been downgraded from its position of hegemony during Muslim rule; the end of Muslim rule was the beginning of its new rise, which would culminate in its acceptance as the national language in independent India. (Orsini 2012: 7/44.Language, Literature, and Publicity)

[3] Articles, pamphlets, and even plays were written to support either view: on the Hindi side, Śiva Prasād argued in favour of the adoption of Hindi in Nagari script in courts and in schools. His memorandum, like Madan Mohan Mālavīya's pamphlet thirty years later, dwelt on the periods before and after 'Muslim conquest' in order to show that Hindi had been the 'language of the country' before that invasion. (Orsini 2012: 7/86. Language and the Literary Sphere)

[4] By the 1920s, a Sanskritized Hindi, like that of the Gurukul textbook, which systematically proposed a 'high' register and excluded colloquial expressions, had become the accepted language of Hindi education. … [e]ven common Perso-Arabic words were dismissed as 'foreign', and words of Sanskrit origin which had changed significantly in common usage (tadbhava) were replaced by Sanskrit words (tatsama). (Ibid: 58/86)

[5] The rivalry between Hindi and Urdu hinged on its most obvious and graphic manifestation, that of script. (Shackle 1990: 11)

[6] Historically, language politics was major cause for the partition of Punjab and Bengal. Question of divide and socio-religious hatred had emerged from the war between Sanskritized Hindi and Arabic-Persianized Urdu as well as from contradiction between Devangri and Urdu script. For details watch- Singh, Sikander July 24, 2016.

[7] Indian academics of 19-20th century was mainly nationalist and Arya oriented. For details, please watch ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਦੇ ਚਾਰ ਅਧਿਆਇ by Ramdhari Singh Dinkar, It is a book which has been translated in different Indian languages. J. L. Nehru, 1st Prime Minister of India wrote the introduction of that book. Aryan culture and one nation culture has been established in Indian academics by that book. (Dinkar 1992)

[8] Works on history of Punjabi language in Eastern Punjab are enough evidence for national idiom of Indian academics and research. These mentioned books: Singh, Prem Praksah 1955; 1996; 2004; Arun, 1996; Duni Chander 1956; Sekhon 1961 and Bedi 1971. Padam 1953 and Najar Singh 2018 are far from Indianism and nationalism.

[9] Cultural contact is highly impactable factor for languages. The cultures has not been contacted to foreign cultures, their language traditions are surviving since centuries, languages of tribes can be see for evidences. Tribes of Madhya Pradesh in India are still speaking Munda languages which are near to old Munda languages. Second, power or state is ever capable to mould language development for their interests. Third, religion is also a important factor in the history of languages- it is a major factor in development and dominance of Sanskrit, Arabic, Hindi and Punjabi languages. Script is also an important system for the development of languages. The languages with script are long lived and the languages without script are

eliminated in history. Except those socio-economic-cultural systems and educational systems are other factor in the language histories. For further studies these works will be helpful: Fromkin 2010; Jesperson 1922; Masanori 1973; Sapir 1949; Sewak Singh 2014 and Ostler 2011.

[10] It is considered that Apabhramsa are third stage of Sanskrit originated Northern Indian languages (NIL afterward). Pro-Aryan scholars stated a chronological description that Vedic or Sanskrit was first stage (1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.), Pali (language of Bodh religion) and Prakrits were second stage (500 B.C. to 500 A.D., Apabhramsa were third stage (500A.D. to 1000 A.D.) and fourth stage is of modern NIL (from 1000 A.D.). Prakrits and Apabhramsa were numbers of languages as per vernaculars. Each Prakrit has been developed to Apabhramsa and Apabhramsa gave birth to different modern NIL. It is common description described in various works. Some scholars has strongly differed this chronological description.

[11] There are to major trends in the origins of NIL, pro-Aryan and pro-pre-Aryan.

[12] Prem Prakash singh called Classical Sanskrit.

[13] Harkirat Singh (1997) considered that Punjabi has been originated in North-West India through the historical process of Vedic to Sanskrit, Sanskrit to Pali, Pali to Prakrits (Shoursaini, Maharashtri, Maghdhi and Ardh-Maghdhi), Prakrits to Apabhransha and Apabhransha to Punjabi.

[14] Brar (2015: 76) noted that Greirson had considered a relationship between Punjabi and Kashmiri based on word sharing of both languages. He commented on that issue, "number of words of Persian and English are mixed in Indian language but on the basis of those sharing we cannot declare that those Indian languages are daughters-sisters of Persian and English."

[15] According to Sekhon (1961: 13) most of the nouns and adjectives in Punjabi are tatsama Sanskrit, but on the level of verbs and case system there is huge difference between both languages.

[16] Aryans were arrived in the Punjab country of North-West India through Afghanistan and Khyber pass 3000-4000 years earlier. At that time, Dravidan and Munda speaking people were lived in Punjab. (Duni Chander 1959: 62)

[17] The problem with these scholars is that they remain convinced that all Northern Indian languages are polluted or distorted forms of Sanskrit. This stands in contradiction to the historically proven fact that when Aryans arrived in Punjab, the people of this region had a much more developed language (whatever its name) than Sanskrit. The speakers of that language must have been descendants of Harappa Civilization. (Ejaz 2020: 69)

[18] The excavation (of Harappa) has discovered lot of symbols, seals, tablets. They all prove that Harappa people were very intelligent and knew lot of other countries they were trading. Thus, they have must speaking some language. It must be some form of Punjabi as almost all the people in Punjab of 7 rivers speaks Punjabi now. (Mayel 2017: 12)

[19] The behaviour of I.-E. r and l in fact shows that already in the Rgvedic age various dialect groups had been formed, and that the Rgvedic language is based on a mixture of the dialects these groups. (Ghosh 1937: 79-80)

[20] The role of politics in the early spread of Sanskrit across India remains obscure. Very likely, the process of military conquest and dynastic subordination in the third century BC spread not Sanskrit as such but the Magadhi Prakrit, which was the language of the Maurya court; Sanskrit would have taken up its position,

thereafter, establishing itself here, and no doubt elsewhere, as the common language for educated discourse of all those who spoke some Indian Prakrit in day-to-day life. …

We have seen (from the record of inscriptions) that Sanskrit, at first a sacred language, established itself as the outward language for political statements only in the middle of the second century AD, 650 years after the grammarian Panini had established its canon. Previously, it appeared that the language of government was the common speech of the ruling city, notably the Magadhi Prakrit of Pataliputra: 250 years after Panini, when Aśoka had set monuments all over north and central India, they were written in this Magadhi Prakrit. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that Sanskrit had already penetrated to the highest levels in the state: the great handbook of Indian statecraft, the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, is written in Sanskrit, not Magadhi. (Ostler 2011)

[21] It is assumed that in primitive times when humans were sustaining themselves by food gathering and hunting, their linguistic needs were limited to that mode of life. As the humans domesticated the animals, and later on plants, their linguistic horizon expanded. Consequently, the language had substantially evolved at the pastoral and agricultural stages of human development. Therefore, in those sets of vocabulary have been identified that must have been essential at those elementary stages. (Ejaz 2020: 95)

[22] Shoursaini was Language of Shoursain area of Yadavs of Mathura kingdom. It was existed in Prakrit and Apabhramsa both eras about 500 B.C to 1000 A.D.

[23] Greirson was criticized by Teja Singh, Haredv Singh Bahri and Prem Prakash singh for giving different theories on the origin of Eastern Punjabi and Lahanda.

[24] Prem Prakash Singh has two opposite views regarding Paisachi:

It is ancient Punjab where Vedic language originated and developed. But this is to keep in mind that no quote is available about the relationship between Vedic Sanskrit and Paisachi. It is sured that classical Sanskrit had no relation to Paisachi. It is concluded based on those historical facts that Paisachi had no way contacted with Vedic Punjab, classical Punjab and Punjab in Ashoka era. (2004: 161-162)

He contradictory changed his above viewpoint in his next published book without clarifying previous notion:

It is looked that Paisachi has affected languages of Punjab, Sindh Balochstan and Kashmir. But enough information is not available regarding Paisachi… Piasachi has an adventural enrichment of rhetorical pun of language because it is greatly assimilated to Sanskrit than other Prakrits. Phonetic structure of Paisachi as assimilated to Sanskrit and Pali also. (2013: 259)

It seems that historians intentionally defined their logic from pro-Sanskrit view point not on linguistic basis!

[25] Dayānand Sarasvatī himself had been sensitive to the use and potential as a community language of Hindi, which he called āryabhāṣā, the language of the Aryans. He had also switched over from Sanskrit to Hindi as the medium of preaching after meeting Brahmo Samāj leader s in Bengal in 1872, and the Ārya Samāj had been very active in Nagari propaganda at the end of the nineteenth century. The fifth of the 28 basic norms of the Ārya Samāj, established in Bombay in 1875… (Francesca Orsini 2009: 57/86 Language and the Literary Sphere)

[26] "The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script." (The Constitution of India, Part XVII. official language article. 343 (1))

[27] Faridkoti considered that the present monograph is the culmination of his whole studies of life. (1992: 12)

[28] The more we compare the languages of the northern sub-continent with the Dravidian and Sanskrit the more we are convinced of the conformity of the northern languages with the Dravidian and their variance with the Sanskrit. It is beyond my comprehension that after all what lead these classical scholars and on what grounds to claim the Aryan origins for these northern languages. It is with great reluctance to say that their approach appears to be totally unscientific because in the first place they had set their aim to prove by hook or crook that the northern languages have in all respects been derived from non-else but the language of the new comer Aryans thus they went out of the way to reach their preconceived goal and produced some bulky volumes which were sufficient to convince a gullible reader. They might have reached at some balanced conclusions provided they had taken into consideration the local non-Aryan languages i.e. Dravidian and Munda etc. along with the Sanskrit while discussing the development of the northern languages. It is a great pity that the classical scholars deliberately barred the non-Aryan local elements from their discussion as though the northern languages had developed in some air tight vacuum tube where no language other than Sanskrit could influence them and furthermore that influence was only one way business because the Sanskrit was installed upon the pedestal of godhood and was endowed with the appellation of Deva Bani (the language of the gods) hence considered totally immune from the local influences. (Faridkoti 1992: 64-65)

[29] Faridkoti Compared Munda culture to Punjabi ceremonies: - dulda: To pour water, pani warna; da hirachi: sprinkle water in bridegroom for welcome; da au: four maidens go out to bring water from nabouring well. Gharauli; chauli heper: rice is sprinkled on the head or bride; Karam: Tiyan; Mege-porob: Maghi; Phagu: Holi in Phalgun month (1992: 32-33)

[30] Faridkoti compared examples of accusative case. He found Punjabi accusative case postposition nun is near to Dravidian nu. And it is far from Sanskrit am (devi-am= devi nun/ to the godess). (1992: 40)

In the Pothohari and Pahari dialects of Punjabi na (of/da) is used as genitive case. Rawala-na-pindi, Mahiye-na-pakkhi; apna, (na, ni etc.) Guj: kalje-ni-chhokrian. Da, di. Ni, na, anu, da, ta, tu, attu; are postpositions used in Dravidian. (1992: 42-44)

[31] The Third Anniversary Discourse, delivered 2 February, 1786 By the President, Sir William Jones, Asiatic Society Bengal.

[32] Harappan Archaeological Research Project.

[33] Mayel (2017) tried to decipher earliest writing in the world (as he claimed) on a jar in the sounds of MU, R, A, BA; GA, JAR which makes the words of Muraba Gajar (Jam of Carrot). (13-14) But word Muraba is Arabic and Gajar is Persian as per Arabic-Persian dictionary. (Amarwant Singh 2003) It may be possible these words are shared with Arabic and Persian. In fact, Gajar (carrot) had been produced as animal food crop since centuries in Punjab. Mayel believes that Muraba Gajar is a preservable dish in Punjab since centuries. But word Muraba is replaceable with Achar (pickle) keeping in mind and following Mayel's arguments. Achar word is shared with Munda, a pre-Aryan ancient language. (Ejaz 2019) Hence Mayel's work on deciphering the Harappa script needs attention. But his endeavour is appreciable because he opened new way for deciphering the Harappa script.

[34] In general, the characteristic features of the Proto-Indian script are the following: 1. There is stable word-order in a sentence; 2. Determination precedes that which is determined (e.g., adjectives precede substantives); 3. Nouns occurring before other nouns function as adjectives and are without suffixes; 4. The combination of a numeral with a substantive does not require plural affixes; 5. Only suffixes occur (there

are no prefixes or infixes); 6. Suffixes may be combined in pairs of definite combinations. (Arlene R. K. Zide and Kamil V. Zvelebil 1976: 60.

[35] The literary language of ancient India- Sanskrit—is different from the Proto-Indian language in a number of features. For Sanskrit, free word-order is characteristic; [and] along with highly developed suffixation, there are a great number of prefixes in Sanskrit. (Arlene R. K. Zide and Kamil V. Zvelebil 1976: 63).

[36] See reference no. 32.

[37] This has been its position in India ever since, although in the last millennium other languages, notably Persian (under the Mughals) and English (under the British), have entered the subcontinent and competed for this status as the prime language of education. (Ostler 2011)

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